

The Polish Review

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HIGH BRITISH OFFICERS PRAISE ANDERS ARMY

General Montgomery's successor in command of the Polish Eighth Army, General Sir Oliver Leese, sent the following message to the Second Polish Corps:

"I am happy to welcome to the Eighth Army, the Polish Corps under General Anders. The fighting quality of the Poles is known to every British soldier. On my recent visit with the Polish Corps I was struck by the efficiency and keenness of officers and men, by the high standard of discipline and the atmosphere of confidence and determination to get to grips with our common foe. Already these fine troops have begun to learn the technique of battle in this mountainous land.

"The Polish Corps includes men whose fighting qualities were known as far back as 1940-1942 at Tobruk and El Gazala. They must be among the oldest members of the Eighth Army. Already the Eighth Army has begun the invasion of Europe—we form one of the spearheads of attack on Hitler's fortress and are proud to welcome the Polish Corps to fight side by side with us in our drive towards Germany and victory."

General Sir Henry Pownall, Commander of the Middle East Corps of which the Polish Army constituted part in Persia and Iraq sent a telegram to General Anders saying:

"I am very glad to learn that the heroic Polish forces are again in action. I am convinced that they will succeed in achieving marvelous results."

The Commander of the British Ninth Army also sent his wishes to the Polish Corps saying:

"I learned with joy that the Polish Corps is again in action against the hated enemy. We are proud that we have had such close contact with the Polish forces, whose high qualities and enthusiasm we had an opportunity to get to know. Now we are convinced that you Poles will beat the foe whether you meet him in Italy, or wherever else on your further way to Poland."

SWIT REPORTS PRISON RAID

SWIT reports that on the night of January 17-18 the prison in Lida was stormed, and 170 political Polish prisoners were freed, among them some members of the Polish underground. All the liberated prisoners were brought to safety. The German prison guard was either killed or disarmed, without loss to the Poles. On January 17th in Szczuczyna a German military police force was liquidated.

POLISH UNDERGROUND ARMY SAPS POWER OF WEHRMACHT

At a press conference on the Polish underground army, Minister of Interior Banacyk said:

"The organization of active underground resistance in Poland dates from the time when the Germans were still besieging Warsaw. The initiative in the matter came from four outstanding political leaders: Niedzialkowski, Debski, Rataj and Kwiecinski, none of whom is alive today. This is proof that from the very outset the Polish underground army has been closely connected with the chief political parties.

"When it became evident that it was going to last for years and that only action directed from centralized headquarters could ensure the maximum efficacy in the struggle against the German invaders, both the political parties operating in Poland and the Polish government in London decided to reorganize the underground army by centralizing its command and unifying it.

"On September 1, 1943 this reorganization was completed throughout the whole of Poland. On that day the Polish President issued a special decree establishing the organization of the underground army to fit it for carrying on the struggle against the invaders. Since then the fighting units of various parties which, had been acting separately, in particular battalions of the Peasant Party and the Polish Socialist Party's peoples' guard became subordinated to one unified political and military direction.

"The present day underground army embodies all the former fighting organizations formed by all political groups from the left to the right inclusive, but excluding the Communist controlled Polish Workers Party.

"The Polish Underground Army consciously and deliberately took upon its shoulders the task of bringing relief to the Soviet Armies. As early as June, 1941, plans of the Polish Underground Army were prepared with a view to exposing the German Armies attacking the Soviets to Polish attacks on the rear.

Numerous reports prove conclusively that in 1941 the striking power of the German army in the east was reduced by about 20 percent owing to the destruction of supplies passing through Polish territory. In 1942-43 the striking force of the German armies was reduced by some 30 percent.

"Three out of every four communication lines connecting the Eastern front with Germany lead through Polish territory. While admiring the splendid Stalingrad victory, the Poles are convinced that they contributed to this victory at a cost high in lives.

"Apart from reserves for the Eastern front, there are 15 divisions stationed in Poland and six SS divisions dispersed throughout the country. The German police force in Poland alone exceeds 50,000 men.

"To obstruct the deportation of Poles for forced labour a number of labour offices with their files and records, as well as several hundred communal offices containing documents regarding distribution and delivery of food contingents, have been destroyed. In the course of organized action to prevent any food exports from Poland a number of dairies, threshing machines, sawmills and other plants belonging to German colonists have been destroyed."

SWEDES CLOTHE POLISH CHILDREN

Marika Stiernstedt, famous Swedish author and chairman of the Polish Children Relief Committee, has made an appeal to the Swedes for funds for the purchase of clothing.

Last February the committee sent to Poland two vanloads of various essential articles, value 20,000 krona. In addition 100 krona were received from the organization "Raedda Barnen" (Rescue the Children) for the purchase of condensed milk in Switzerland.

In March the Committee intends to send 30,000 krona worth of supplies, chiefly food to Polish children also half a ton of second-hand clothing which the Swedish women made over for the children's use. To show how urgently help is needed, Mme. Stiernstedt states that in one children's refuge in Warsaw there are only two overcoats for 200 children.

POLISH HOAX IN WARSAW WORKS

SWIT reports that a special unit of the Polish Underground Forces posted announcements in Warsaw streets on February 25 signed by the German police chief, General Koppe, informing the population that the German authorities had ordered the evacuation of Warsaw. The Germans began to pack and to form lines outside the banks to withdraw their money. They expressed open delight at being able to leave Poland alive and escape Polish vengeance. It took the German authorities a long time to quiet the German population and remove the posters.

SWIT reports that on January 10th a Polish underground unit on the road from Wasiliszki to Waworka freed a number of arrested Poles from Wasiliszki and killed a strong German escort.

BLINDFOLDED POLES GAGGED BEFORE SHOT

"Biuletyn Informacyjny" a Polish underground paper, reveals that on February 15, in Warsaw, 40 Poles were shot by the Germans against the wall of a destroyed house No. 6 Senatorska Street. On the same day the Germans shot 200 men and women in the ghetto ruins in Nalewi Street. The place of execution in Senatorska Street was covered with flowers soon afterwards and many people knelt to pray there. Two days later on February 17 in the afternoon a strong patrol of German police drove to Senatorska Street and opened fire on the praying crowd. A number of people were killed or wounded. Those led to execution are now not only blindfolded but gagged as well. They are often barefoot and only in underwear.

"There is no truth in the assertions of German propaganda that anti-Polish activities on the part of the Germans have ceased. It says that in Western Poland the concentration camps in Oswiecim, Inowroclaw, Wronki, as well as the special penal camp for women in Szubin are functioning as hitherto. The Germans still consider the sale of meat "a political crime."

GERMAN OFFICES EVACUATE EAST OF CURZON LINE

German authorities are reported to have ordered the evacuation of all German officers and civilians from beyond the Curzon Line. Civil administration has been temporarily transferred into the hands of Poles or Ukrainians, according to which is in the majority in any given place.

People able to work have received orders to be ready to leave at a minute's notice with food for 10 days. The Gestapo has been replaced by Feld Gendarmerie. Germans evacuated from the east to Polish towns are quartered in ghettos. Fearing hostilities on the part of the Poles they remain indoors in the evening.

It is also reported that the Germans evacuated from the east are quartered in Polish villages and towns where Poles are often thrown out of their homes and places of work. Similar methods were applied by the Germans to the Poles evacuated in 1939 to Poland from the Baltic states. Germans do not permit the refugees to go to the Reich, for fear they would spread demoralization and disease.

The Germans are building barracks on the ruins of the Warsaw Ghetto to house German evacuees from the East.

"We have sworn before our country and humanity not to rest until Poland regains her independence and establishes her existence."

—From "The Manifesto of the Democratic Society" (1836)

MAIN RELIGIOUS PROBLEM OF EASTERN POLAND

by WLADYSLAW WIELHORSKI

THE Eastern half of the Polish Republic (51.6% of the whole territory), occupied in September 1939 by the Soviet Union and then in June 1941 by the Germans, is in the main a Catholic country.

According to the census of December 9th, 1931, 58.8% of the people were Catholic of these 33.4% were of the Latin and 25.4% of the Uniat rite. The other 29.3% were Orthodox. Apart from these 88.1%, barely 1.5% of the other inhabitants were Christian. Two-thirds of the population of the eastern part of Poland were Catholic, and one-third schismatics. In 1931 there were 10.2% Jews in this territory.

The Polish nation was converted to Roman Christianity in 966. To the southeast the frontiers of the Polish state reached at that time about as far as now. Soon afterwards, in 981, the lands to the east of the San were seized from Poland by Kiev, Ruthenia under Wladzimirz the Great. They reverted to the Polish Republic in 1340. From that time on this area, known as the Halicz Lands, remained part of the Polish state, up to the Partition of 1772, when it was taken by Austria.

From the fourteenth century on western influences gained the upper hand on these territories. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Orthodox Church, formerly dominant in the southeastern territories of Poland, lost nearly all its adherents to Uniat Catholicism. This rite dates from the Synod of Brest in 1596. When Austria seized these lands in 1772, the schism was already an accomplished fact, and there has been no noticeable change in the past 200 years, except for a certain shift in the number of adherents of the Latin rite, especially in Podolia, now district of Tarnopol. The present southeastern voievodeships—Lwow, Tarnopol and Stanislawow—are among the most uniformly Catholic parts of Poland. Here the Catholics form between 88% and 91% of the population, the Uniates comprising a little more than 60% and the Roman Catholics rather under 40% of the Catholic population of these three voievodeships.

In the north and east, in that part of Poland occupied by the Russians during the partitions, the situation is different. In the eighteenth century Russia aimed at the destruction of the Polish Republic. Petersburg taking advantage of the existence of an Orthodox population in eastern Poland posed as the protector of this denomination and on this pretext tried to meddle in Poland's internal affairs. The Polish people reacted to this by supporting the idea of union, and there ensued the same phenomenon as in the southeastern voievodeships. The number of Orthodox believers swiftly joined the Catholic Uniates.

About 1770 a denominational census of the Polish Republic as a whole showed more than 10,000,000 Christians in Poland, 5,500,000 were Roman Catholics; 3,900,000 Uniates,



Uniat Church in Southeastern Poland.

and barely 500,000 Orthodox. There were 300,000 Protestants.

In protest against the claims of Moscow, eager for conquest the inhabitants of Eastern Poland, whether their native tongue was Polish, Ukrainian or White Ruthenian, flocked to the Catholic Church. The great majority of schismatics joined the Uniates. The movement was so general that one after another the Orthodox dioceses were converted into Uniat dioceses. In 1790 the number of Orthodox Christians in Poland had fallen to 300,000.

In 1791, the Four-Year Diet initiated reforms in the Orthodox Church in Poland, making it independent of the Metropolitan at Kiev, then resident on territory already seized by Russia, and returned the Polish Orthodox Episcopate to the Patriarchate in Constantinople, which was not an anti-Polish political center.

These reforms consolidated the former traditions of Polish Orthodoxy in conformity with Polish national civilization. The Orthodox denomination, like all other dissenting denominations, was never submitted unilaterally to the complete (Please turn to page 14)

W. 189/02

UNCONQUERABLE

by MICHAEL

UPPER SILESIANS

S. GREAVES



Tablet showing Polish Eagle (1532) in a church in Opole, Upper Silesia.

THERE is something unconquerable in the Opolans of Upper Silesia and their manner of life. Constant struggles are not foreign to them. Outspoken, stubborn and conservative, they have withstood the invasions and influences of foreign cultures. Like the Poles of old Poland they to this day cling to the faith, customs and language of their forebears.

Going back to prehistoric times the lands of Silesia were consecutively inhabited by various races migrating from Jutland, from the Oder and the Danube. They streamed from the East and the South, on their way to other lands. The first evidence of a Slav culture dates back to 1800

B.C. These precursors of the Poles were conquered and subjugated by the Vandals, Scythes and Celts who settled in Silesia for four centuries.

The first historical mention of Silesians was made in the second century A.D. by Ptolemy. He wrote of the *Silings*, or *Slazaks*, a Slav tribe who derived their name from the river *Slaza* called the Lohe River by the Germans. Four centuries later, a Bavarian geographer listed the various Slav tribes living in Silesia, the *Slezans*, *Opolans*, *Dziadoszans* and *Golezycans*. The Opolans occupied Green Silesia, living on both sides of the Oder. He wrote of twenty cities occupied by them, the oldest and largest of which was Opole. Unfortunately there are very few records of the old Lech, or Polish, inhabitants of the Opole district. There is definite proof however that the Slavs of Silesia as a whole and those of Opole in particular belonged to one of the five principal Lech, or Polish, tribes, ruled by one king.

The rich soil of the Lechs, their



Oldest church in Opole, Upper Silesia, where hangs the tablet shown at left.

prosperous homesteads and peaceful life were coveted by their western neighbors. Deep forests were not strong enough to keep the Germanic warriors out, nor were stone walls sufficient.

Upon the death of Boleslaw III of Poland in 1138, Silesia became a separate principality under the Piast dynasty of Polish princes. It remained free of Germans until the Piast dynasty died out, when the Kings of Bohemia appropriated Silesia.

In 1526 Silesia passed to Ferdinand I, a Hapsburg. Under the new dynasty the Silesians lost almost all their old rights and their land gradually passed to the German Crown. With foreign rule came oppression, loss of liberty and human rights.

Nor was Slask spared the ravages of the Thirty Years' War in the 17th century. This was followed by the plague which killed most of the population. The merchants, landholders and clergy fled to Poland from war, destruction and



Polish Piast rulers of Silesia. Heads in Brzeg Castle, Upper Silesia.



Jagiellonian Library Collection, Cracow
The first Polish newspaper for peasants appeared in Silesia in February, 1790.

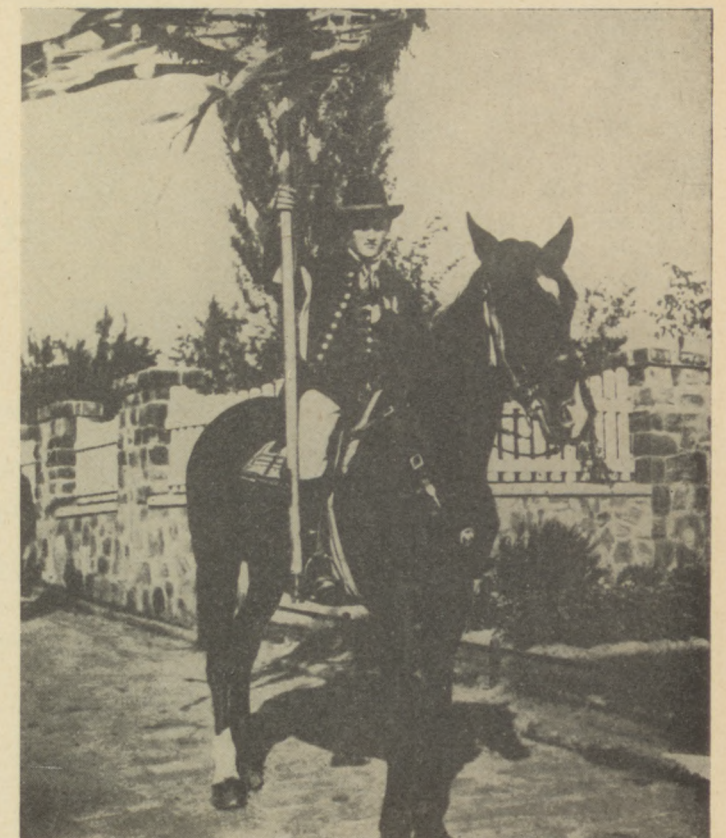
against the foreign invader. They clung desperately to their language, religion and customs. When Germany closed Jesuit schools and organized German Protestant schools, Poles set up their own secret classrooms in which Polish was taught. So, no matter how hard the Germans tried the Silesian would not be Germanized. He still spoke only Polish and did not even understand German.

When Jan III Sobieski marched through the Opole district on his way to Vienna, he was given a most hearty welcome by the Poles. The road through which he marched is to this very day marked with lindens planted by the enthusiastic population to greet the Polish king.

Further aggression on Polish territories by foreign powers came in 1740 when Frederick the Great claimed parts of Upper Silesia and in 1742 parts of Lower Silesia as well. With Prussian rule the pressure of German influence increased on the Poles of Silesia. To create a strong base not only in the Opole district but in all Silesia, Frederick the Great settled whole detachments of German craftsmen, merchants, factory workers and farmers on the land taken by force from the Poles. This process was repeated several times, especially in the Opolan districts. From 1742 to 1763 61,152 German colonists were settled. From 1763 to 1806 another 109,695 German settlers were sent into Silesia. The

flow of German colonists did not stop in 1806, however. With the development of heavy industry, with the growing number of garrisons, the development of political administration, railroads and mail the influx of Germans increased. In the Opole district alone another 16,000 Germans were settled. German names replaced Polish names. Everything Polish was suppressed. Everything Polish was "verboten."

plague. Only the Polish peasants remained. Deprived of all rights by the Imperial order, Polish peasants were left at the mercy of German condottieries. They were sold abroad to pay for taxes and debts, and the German colonists settled on the freed lands. Thus, long before Frederick the Great, Silesia was being systematically Germanized. The Poles seeing the danger, raised an impenetrable barrier



On his way to a Polish harvest festival.
Raciborz District, Upper Silesia.

These cold figures do not reveal the human side of the picture. Under Prussian rule a Pole had no rights as an individual, unless he declared himself a German, changed his name, sent his children to German schools. Otherwise he was deprived of his home and possessions, he had to pay extra taxes, he and his children were forced to work under the most harrowing conditions for their German overlords. But the Polish farmer, worker, tradesman and craftsman maintained a calm exterior under which was seething revolt against the German oppression.

The Germans said that the Silesian Pole was like a duck off whose back everything rolled off. It was impossible for the Germans to penetrate the cold and haughty exterior. No matter how much the Germans propagated the idea of German superiority among their own settlers, no matter how much they persecuted and



Polish Falcons (1896) Bytom, Upper Silesia.

ARC'S Work For Polish Prisoners-of-War

by T. S. WOLKOWSKI


POLES take a very keen interest in the work being done by the American Red Cross all over the world, but are especially grateful for what it is doing for Polish Prisoners of War.

Indeed Poles in America have a double interest in the work of the American Red Cross, for the services it renders to their sons, husbands and brothers in the American Army, and to those of their relatives and friends who were captured in Poland and are now suffering for a fifth year in German prisons.

Up to June, 1943, relief work for Polish Prisoners of War was maintained by various Polish organizations in this country under the general supervision of the Polish National Council in Chicago.

Although this work had been carried on for four years with great zeal by many individuals, the volume of relief sent to the camps was inadequate. So in June, 1943, the Polish Embassy in Washington asked the American Red Cross to take over the task of providing for Polish Prisoners of War in Germany, assembling the necessary supplies and securing transportation for them. Now each Polish prisoner of war regularly receives one food package a month containing food value of 14,000 calories. Under this new arrangement, before the end of last year each Polish Prisoner of War received a complete outfit of clothing, underwear, shoes, etc. As the German prison camp rations contain about 1,600 calories, the American Red Cross food packages make up the difference for 2,000 calories, the minimum required.

The American Red Cross is providing not only for American and Polish Prisoners of War, but for those of many other Allied nations, and special machinery had to be set up



AMERICAN RED CROSS

Form 1629
Rev. Feb. 1943

RECEIPT FOR PRISONER OF WAR PACKAGE

Por. Slusarek Rem. i Los' Adam - Oflag II E

(Last Name) (First and Middle Names) (Rank)

g. nr. 345 *g. nr. 1417*

(Number) (Prison Camp) (Country)

I have received today one food package from THE AMERICAN NATIONAL RED CROSS through the International Red Cross Committee.

Pozbawiamy, nie sakowaz odwalismy. Sendeane diukerjon

(Signed) *Schalethym Ofazalawem, 22. 11. 1943*

Nationality *Pol. skia* Date *8. pazdziernika 1943*

Acknowledgement by Polish prisoners-of-war of a package received from the American Red Cross.

to prepare the number of food packages required.

Four plants have been established in the United States. More than 270,000 packages a week are being packed by volunteers and sent out from packing centers to ports where specially chartered ships, flying neutral flags are loaded with food, clothing, medicine, books, sport goods, etc. Some of these ships are owned by the International Red Cross Foundation.


Their safe passage to Marseilles is guaranteed by the belligerents and so far no shipment has suffered from any act of war.

From Marseilles the supplies are forwarded to the International Red Cross in Geneva. There again assortments are made up for each camp and forwarded by rail or parcel post to camp leaders, in charge of distribution to the prisoners. Vast quantities of most of the American Red Cross supplies are accumulated in Geneva, and in case of emergency, supplies can be delivered to any camp within a few days, irrespective of transportation conditions between the United States and Geneva.

A record of supplies sent to camps and receipted for by camp leaders is kept at the Headquarters of the American Red Cross in Washington. There are practically no losses in transit and the prisoners receive the full quantity of supplies sent to them. Most camps now carry a reserve of food packages for one to two months.

There are still about 60,000 Polish Prisoners of War, each of whom receives one food package a month. Also from time to time, the Polish National Council sends through the American Red Cross, shipments of comfort arti-

(Please turn to page 14)



AMERICAN RED CROSS

Washington, D. C.

United States of America

Gebührenfrei
Postage Free
Franc du Port

Kriegsgefangenenpost
Prisoners of War Post
Prisonniers de Guerre

CENSORSHIP
EXAMINED
By 903

Hundreds of receipts from Polish prisoners-of-war are received daily by the American Red Cross in Washington.

ON THE TRAIL OF POLISH WARRIORS



Above: Our Lady of Kozielsk. Carved in a Polish prisoner-of-war camp in Kozielsk, U.S.S.R. Left: Statue of a Polish sapper in Iraq, Middle East.

Countless sculptures, mosaics and monuments mark the road along which Polish warriors are marching to Poland. Polish troops in Russia are commemorated in the "Kozielsk Madonna," a wood carving by Cadet Tadeusz Z., now in a field chapel of the Polish Army in the Middle East. Other monuments in Iran, Iraq, Libya and Egypt, bear witness to the indomitable spirit of the Poles, which will erect the last monument at their journey's end in Poland.



Left: "Fight on to Victory." Statue in front of Polish tents in Iraq, Middle East. Right: All Polish military camps have a Polish Eagle laid out with pebbles.

POLISH UNDERGROUND ARMY FIGHTS ON!

A typical street scene in Warsaw. An S.S. Patrol halts Polish civilians at random, faces them to the nearest wall, and searches them for weapons and documents. The tank in the background carries German soldiers' pay, to protect it against Polish underground troops.



Polish Underground judges sit in trial upon the German-Polish Police Officer Reczynski, accused of excessive cruelty and other crimes. The court, which lasted all night, was held in the prisoner's flat, where he was found "guilty" and summarily executed.



THESE four drawings are typical of life in Poland today. They were drawn by Capt. Bryan de Grineau for THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, under the direction of an Officer of the Polish Underground Army who had arrived from Poland after four years of work there. In spite of German terrorism and shooting squads, the Polish Underground Army, under the Directorate of Underground Fighting, has continued its work in the very shadow of the Gestapo. Not only does the army operate a powerful

radio broadcasting station with regularity, but has its own Court of Judges, its own schools and universities, and its own fully-equipped army. The Court of Judges sits regularly to try men accused of various crimes, and its verdicts are made known in the columns of the many Underground newspapers circulating throughout Poland. On some occasions the Court sits in the prisoner's own home, as in the case of the police officer Reczynski, illustrated above. At other times it tries cases in the absence of the accused, hearing legal arguments

for and against, and in such cases the Court's verdicts are put into effect by squads of executioners. Two such executions are shown below. One was that of Hoffman, on April 11, 1943, when the squad, entering his office in full daylight, killed him at his desk. As they emerged again from the building, two S. S. men came by. One grabbed for his revolver, but the other seized his wrist and, indicating the stony faces surrounding them, they marched him on and out of sight. Another case was that of Burckel, upon whom the sentence

of death was carried out by an executioner disguised as a street violinist. This man took great risks to get close to Burckel in order not to imperil the doomed man's wife and child, who had not been sentenced by the Court. Motorcycle S.S. men opened fire, and a street battle began, when another Underground fighter, disguised as a flower-seller, pulled a grenade from a bouquet and threw it into a tramcar filled with German troops.



A tense moment as Polish Underground Executioners leave the office of Hoffman, Nazi Labor Exchange Chief of Warsaw, having carried out sentence of death on him on April 11, 1943. Two passing S.S. men surrounded by underground men restrain their desire to intervene.



The execution of Burckel, Governor of the Pawiak Prison, Warsaw, on September 7, 1943. The execution was carried out by an underground official disguised as a street violinist. Snatching a tommy-gun concealed in his violin case, he shot Burckel at close quarters.

RECENT PAINTINGS BY STAN PORAY



Ranch in the Valley.

By Stan Poray.

A ONE-MAN exhibition of paintings by Stan Pociecha Poray, a Polish artist residing in the United States, was recently held at the Grand Central Art Galleries in New York. Poray was born in Cracow in 1888. While attending the Academy of Fine Arts he graduated in Law and Philosophy at the University of Cracow. From 1912 to 1921 he traveled in Europe, India, Russia and the Far East, studying, painting, and exhibiting. Now an American citizen, he has lived in California since 1921, making occasional trips to Europe.

Mr. Poray has won numerous prizes and is represented in many famous private and public collections in the world. His painting "Reflection" was included in the American Art Section of the International Exhibition at the San Francisco World's Fair, 1939-1940. Fogg Museum and Radcliffe College recently acquired three of his paintings. Irma Whitney, Art critic of the Boston Herald, wrote: "We have a way of tossing about on our tongues the word 'Artist'—but how few merit the title as fully as this man."

Included in the exhibition at the Grand Central Art Galleries, were landscapes from California, Colorado, Utah, Illinois and Manchuria as well as portraits, figures and still life.

POLISH QUEEN IN DANTZIG

by TRYPHOSA BATES-BATCHELLER*

IT was the eighth of February, 1646, when, in the early afternoon, Louise-Marie de Gonzague, not without emotion, crossed the river Lippen that separated her from Poland, henceforth to be her country.

Once over the little river she was in her new realm, and, with the advantage of more clement weather, the country seemed to her and to her whole suite, more pleasing and more attractive than any through which they had passed.

To prepare her entrance into the picturesque city of Dantzic, she was first greeted by the Count d'Enhoff, then by an austere Bishop who, instead of making a speech, pronounced a few words in Latin: "Understand, Be Happy, and Reign." A little later, she was met in a much more graceful way by the Bishop Prince Charles, now her brother-in-law, and his suite, resplendent in magnificent Polish uniforms. After her long, tiresome journey, she saw at last the grandiose reception that had been prepared for her. The chronicler writes: "One would have thought that not only the entire population of Dantzic had come, but that all Poland was there, ready to do homage to the new Queen of the country."

It is doubtful if any other city of Europe has had more peripeties for possession or has been the object of more struggles for control by so many different nations. The city is situated on the left bank of the river Vistula, about three miles from its mouth and only 253 miles northeast of Berlin. The town is crossed by the river Mottlau, which is divided in two branches across the city and enters the Vistula just beyond the city limits. Besides its geographical situation as an important seaport, Dantzic has always had remarkably strong fortifications. The actual origin of the town is unknown, but as far back as 997 it was an important port; there was not only the navigation of the Baltic Sea, but the river navigation of the Vistula was, and still is, considerable. Seized from Poland by the Teutonic Knights in 1308, Dantzic was one of the cities of the Hanseatic League and maintained commercial relations with Flanders and England. It has been successively controlled by Pomerania, Poland, Brandenburg and Denmark. All great ports have a population of mixed nationalities and Dantzic, from a very remote period, has been noted for its educational institutions of high standing.

By the Peace of Thorn in 1455, Dantzic shook off its Prussian yoke and became subject, by its own desire, to the King of Poland along with the whole of West Prussia. Poland was so generous as to leave Dantzic the rights of a free city though it was represented in the Polish diets and at the elections of the Polish kings. It was not only the city of Dantzic, but a considerable territory of more than thirty villages. Prussia gained complete possession of Poland only in 1793. It can hardly be said that Dantzic has been originally Prussian. During the war between France and Prussia in 1807, the city was captured by Maréchal Le-febvre who was given the title of Duke of Dantzic by the French Emperor. Napoleon, at the peace of Tilsitt, declared it a free town, but under the protection of the French Empire, it was given to France, Prussia and Saxony, thus restoring it to its ancient territory. At the fall

*From *The Soul of a Queen* by Tryphosa Bates-Batcheller. Brentano's, 1943, pp. 280.



Louise Marie de Gonzague, Queen of Poland. From an engraving by Justus d'Egmont (1645).

of the French Empire, it was given to Prussia in 1814.

Marie knew quite well, excellent stateswoman that she was, the importance of this beautiful, rich city of her realm. She was impressed by the fine Gothic architecture of the Town Hall, which had been founded in 1379, and by many other monuments. The enthusiasm of her welcome was the most encouraging moment of her entire journey. In point of national importance, to please Dantzic was, perhaps, more vital to her success than to satisfy or impress Warsaw; she felt this keenly, but she had not expected such a magnificent reception, all the more gratifying as it followed so closely on the depressing and disturbing letters received from the King.

An immense military camp had been arranged just outside the fortifications, and extended as far as the eye could reach over the great white plains. The troops, with their brilliant uniforms of different colors for each regiment, made an unforgettable picture on the snow white background. Sabers flashed in the clear cold air and the noise of the guns added to the formality of the welcome. The troops of Prince Charles headed the long line of

this royal procession which took eight hours to pass. There were forty-eight companies comprising 5,760 men. (Please turn to page 13)

Tryphosa Bates-Batcheller, a descendant of an old and distinguished Massachusetts family, has spent much of her life abroad. An accomplished writer in several languages, she has also sung her way to fame in many countries. "The Soul of a Queen" is a historical novel built about the life of the heroic and romantic Louise Marie de Gonzague, Duchess of Nevers and Queen of Poland. It gives a fascinating picture of the pomp and splendor of 17th century Europe and recreates the atmosphere of the reigns of Louis XIV of France and Jan Kazimierz II, King of Poland. The book is prefaced by congratulatory messages from Jan Ciechanowski, Ambassador of Poland to the United States; Professor Oskar Halecki, Director of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences; and Olgierd P. de Sherbowitz-Wetzor, Professor of Byzantine History at Georgetown University.

LIFE GOES ON IN AN OFLAG

by JAN

WOLSKI

A PRISONER'S life is drab, hopeless and monotonous. Day follows day in unending similarity, punctured by roll calls, drills and tasteless meals.

In 1939 I was placed in *Oflag*—for Polish officers. How I escaped I cannot tell, as it would incriminate those who helped me.

So many escaped prisoners of war have described the unchanging horror of daily life in prison and the torture of prisoners by German sadists, that I shall not go into that. I prefer to speak of the few bright moments I can remember. For, strange as it may seem, there is another side to prison life. That makes the suffering and waiting possible. It is the world of fancy, of imagination where for a few moments one can forget things as they are; where for a fleeting hour the grinning masks we assumed seemed real and our prison existence a nightmare.

My *Oflag* had, as we heard by grapevine, the best theatre. We produced tragedies, comedies, operettas and musicals. But that was not until later.

The whole idea started one evening as we were sitting together, talking about life in Poland. Somebody spoke of a play he saw in Poland and quoted parts of it to us.

"I saw that too," the Doctor said, "and do you remember . . .?"

To cut the story short, by the end of the evening we had decided to have our own theatre. Hands and minds forced to idleness were suddenly given something to do.

Next day as stage manager, I put up a notice on the bulletin board calling for actors, designers, etc. The response was so enthusiastic that we were forced to turn down seventy-five per cent of the applicants.

The next step was to get permission from the German prison commander. On hearing my scheme he stormed and swore. The "*verfluchten Polaken*" were always asking for something. They should be happy to be tolerated on the soil of the Reich. As he cooled off a bit, I began to explain that the theatre would be part of his own recreation project. We could substitute it for organized exercises. Besides it would show the outside world that German treatment of Polish prisoners was good. This proved to be the right approach and he agreed to my plan.

I remember our first program. We had nothing to start with. No scenery, props or costumes, and our progress was constantly hampered by the German officials. Each step we took we came up against the word "*verboten*." "*Verboten*" everything was "*verboten*." But we got through that.

Our costumes called for ingenuity. The tailor, Wacek the tailor is what we called him from then on, made dresses and suits out of paper, hats and boots out of cardboard boxes. The make up was bought outside for us by our guard, at a handsome profit for himself, and we made wigs out of our bed pallets.

Our first attempt was a review, a collection of songs and



Scene from Fredro's *Ladies and Hussars* staged by Polish prisoners-of-war in a German *Oflag*.

short sketches most popular in Poland before the war. We discovered a lot of talent, musicians, script writers and excellent singers and actors.

The opening night came at last. I was as nervous as a cat, borrowing cigarettes from everybody with the promise to return them sometime in the future. Last minute preparations were hectic. The "prima donna's" dress exposed her rather masculine legs, wigs would not stay on, moustaches came off, somebody mislaid a prop. The orchestra was having trouble with the strings. Five minutes before curtain time everything was in heavenly disorder, but we had to start on time. Orders were orders.

Punctually to the second the audience marched into the theatre in double file. Our honored guests of course occupied the best seats. Behind the scenes we caught sounds of excited conversation. It sounded like a real premier. Only, there were no high female voices. Funny, but all of us noticed that.

The orchestra played the overture, familiar tunes we had heard on the streets of Poland brought back memories of peaceful prewar days. Nostalgia gripped me, tears filled my eyes. The curtain went up, the audience sat spellbound.

Polish peasant costumes, songs, dances. The audience was transported. Faces relaxed into smiles, the tension and grim regularity that strained our nerves lifted. We were free again, singing, laughing, crying. Each number was greeted with thunderous applause. Even the Germans guffawed at the "grace" of our chorus girls. The actors rose to the occasion. Everyone was doing his best, crowding pent up emotions into the short evening.

What a relief to let go. To know that the prison guard cannot wield his whip, each time you step out of line. The whole auditorium was united in a spirit of exuberation which even infected the regimented Germans.

As the actors took the final curtain call, flowers were handed to our "leading lady" a token from the prisoners. How they got the flowers remains a mystery.

The lights went down, the prisoners filed out slowly. Again we returned to the usual monotony of our hopeless existence.

Next day 6 a.m. reveille, roll call, physical exercises, 8 a.m. breakfast and so it went on.

Once organized our theatre group resolved to continue its work. Our next presentation was a real play. Someone got a book of plays by Fredro (a well-known Polish playwright) and we decided to put on the "*Ladies and Hussars*." Next we did a short sketch that came from occupied Warsaw, and then three short sketches, one on Warsaw as it was before the war, another entitled the "Prisoner's Letter" and the third a comedy on prison life. We also attempted an oper-

UNCONQUERABLE UPPER SILESIANS

(Continued from page 5)

humiliated the Poles, they were never able to feel that the Poles were conquered. Three bloody uprisings, after each of which German oppression was increased, gave proof that the Poles were unconquerable.

After the first World War in 1921, a plebiscite was taken in Upper Silesia. It was a plebiscite in name only. Germans used all forms of intimidation and terror against the Poles and imported German colonists into Opole. German officials and other German non-residents were allowed to vote. The Conference of Ambassadors decided that the Opole district of about 3,750 square miles be left to Germany. Reliable estimates put the number of Poles there at about 700,000.

After 1921 Germany did not stop her persecution of Poles and particularly of the intellectuals. Rather than live in the hostile atmosphere, many of them fled to Poland. Others remained, preserving their old Polish traditions on land that was originally Polish. Even now under the German "New Order" the Poles are true, as they always have been, to their old Polish speech, legends, traditions, songs and dances.

POLISH QUEEN IN DANTZIG

(Continued from page 11)

They were followed by 130 "carabiniers" (marksmen) who were dressed in the French fashion with scarlet casques, and there were also 400 knights of Dantzic about whom the chronicler naively says: "250 were still to be married, the others being young fathers of families." These young men were dressed in black with chains of gold at the collar and wore hats of beaver mounted with great aigrettes held in place by jewels. Once again the magnificent Polish horses with their heavily embroidered trappings added to the brilliancy of the picture. Three hundred dragoons uniformed in bright blue, with musket and pike, preceded immediately the troops of the Bishop of Warmie, accompanied by one hundred cavaliers, one hundred dragoons, one hundred Hungarian "hayducs" in curiously picturesque liveries with axes, sabres and arquebuses. Then followed the dragoons in the uniform of the Bishop of Kamieniec, Vice-Chancellor of the kingdom. The personal guard of mounted cossacks of Prince Charles were, perhaps, the most picturesque in their bright turquoise blue uniforms, with sable trimmings and many jewels. Finally came the families of the officers of the kingdom, senators, nobles and cavaliers, the most brilliant uniforms being those of Prince Stanislaus-Albert Radziwill, Chancellor of Lithuania. Such a magnificent spectacle, Dantzic had never seen before, and dense crowds were crushed along the walls of the streets, while every window to the roof, as well as the roofs, were filled with curious humanity

etta, "The Merry Widow." The women's parts were sung by tenor voices, but with the help of make up and costumes the illusion if not perfect was acceptable. That was my last production. After that I escaped.

There are moments when I look back with longing at my *Oflag* career. I and my prison friends got a great kick out of our little theatre. It gave us something to do, it occupied our minds, and made life bearable when the guards got particularly nasty.

I know that my friends are continuing their work, holding up each other's hopes and spirits. Only thus will they be able to emerge sound in body and mind from the long years of enforced idleness.

They have become hardened in the struggle for a niggardly piece of bread, in mines and factories, and on the soil. Grey and cold, eyes, horny, toilworn hands speak of the long years and generations of hard life. From this the Polish Silesian emerged silent, strong and undaunted, heir to the rebellious thoughts of his ancestors.

In wrestling with the overwhelming power of foreign lords, in his stubborn struggle with the barren soil, mines and blast furnaces, in his stand against exploitation by foreign capitalism, the Silesian has become a man of steel, nerves. The Silesians are organized into compact groups of great internal coherence, uncompromising, straightforward, conscious of their human worth, without a shade of servility towards social superiors.

This new war has found Silesians well equipped by experience to withstand the shafts of foreign rule and persecution. There is not the slightest doubt that they will emerge victorious from the present struggle and that tireless and unconquerable, they will help build a new and stronger Poland.

eager to see such a wonderful cavalcade.

The great nobles of Poland were wearing the traditional costumes of their families, as diverse in color as they were superb in fabric. Priceless furs trimmed the heavy velvets; and often leopard skins fell from the shoulder of these already elaborate uniforms. Their picturesque fur hats were made even more effective by heron feathers and aigrettes, held in place by priceless emeralds and rubies, while the handles of their sabres and swords were heavily enameled and set with diamonds and turquoises. Besides, these Lords of Poland carried on their shoulders arrow-cases heavily embroidered with silver, and held in place by large diamond buttons.

Behind all this cavalcade came the Bishops of Cujavie, of Warmie, of Kamieniec, the Bishop of Orange, then Prince Charles and lastly the Comte de Brégy, once again contented and happy, "glittering like the sun" in his red "juste-aucorps" heavily embroidered with golden flowers. Count d'Enhoff was most important with his jeweled baton of Grand Master of Ceremonies, and all this fine flower of Poland was preceded by six trumpeters of the King, heralding the great procession with their silver trumpets.

Great cheers burst from the entire crowd. The Royal carriage, mounted on very high wheels, was drawn by eight magnificently caparisoned horses and surrounded by fifty guards, carrying great halberds and dressed in sapphire blue uniforms heavily embroidered, with lace collars. The coach

(Please turn to page 14)

(Continued from page 3)

authority of the crown, but was founded on its own autonomous laws, passed by Parliament. The autonomous rights of this Church were administered by the bishops and lay representatives who sat with the clergy on the national synods and the diocesan assemblies of the Orthodox Church. The friars' orders had considerable influence on the internal life of Polish Orthodoxy. The King selected the incumbents for the episcopal sees and took care of the Church property.

The partitions of Poland at the end of the eighteenth century interrupted this development. From this time on the Orthodox Church became an instrument for the Russification of Orthodox Polish citizens who had been converted into subjects of the Russian Czar. The clergy were sent in considerable numbers from Russia to the conquered Polish territories to win over the Orthodox population of Eastern Poland and rid them of European influences.

Czarist Russia did not respect the Catholic Uniat which was founded on the conceptions of the Catholic West. It inculcated the cult of human dignity, taught them to respect individual freedom and freedom of conscience, buttressed by the authority of law and custom. In fact it was an institution most closely linked with the Polish state and it fostered in the people the idea of restoring an independent Polish Republic. During both the Kosciuszko Insurrection of 1794 and the Insurrection of 1831, the clergy and adherents of the Catholic Uniat displayed burning patriotism and fought side by side with the Roman Catholic population against the Russian invaders.

Czar Nicholas I by an "ukase" of 1839 dissolved the Uniat Church on Russian occupied territories of Poland and at one stroke returned its adherents to Orthodoxy. The Catholic parishes of the Uniat rite were converted into Orthodox parishes. It was often necessary to use armed force to compel the country people to recognize this change. Blood flowed and the prisons were full. Multitudes of obstinate believers and "refractory" clergy were sent to Siberia. The result of this act of violence reduced the Uniat population in the voievodships formerly seized by Russia to a very small percentage while the number of Orthodox Christians has grown considerably.

The numerical superiority of Orthodoxy over Catholicism is now most evident on territories where in the eighteenth century the Uniat rule was generally accepted and Roman Catholicism least propagated. Today such conditions may be observed in Polesia, where the Catholic population constitutes 11.3% of the total, and in Wolhynia where it is 16.2%. Almost all these Catholics belong to the Latin rite, whereas the Uniats number only .1 and .2% of the total population.

The position in the north-east areas of Poland is different. After the Union concluded between Poland and Lithuania in

1386, the Roman Catholicism came to Lithuania from Poland. It also spread east of the Lithuanian area, to territories inhabited by Poles and White Ruthenians.

Czarist Russia did attack Roman Catholicism but tolerated it within its boundaries, only restricting and curbing it by legislative and administrative means. Thus Roman Catholicism has endured to the present day in these territories, where it constitutes the most important religious element.

In 1931 in the voievodship of Bialystok, the Roman Catholics numbered 61.8% of the population, in that of Nowogrodek 40.4%, and in that of Wilno 62.6%. The Uniat rite is here represented but slightly. In areas where it was prevalent amongst the White Ruthenian population, such as the eastern parts of the Wilno and Nowogrodek districts, it has now disappeared in favor of Orthodoxy. In the voievodships of Nowogrodek the latter even has a small majority amongst the Christian population.

It can be seen from the above that the eastern part of the Polish Republic has at present larger Roman Catholic majorities in the north in the Wilno district and in the south around Lwow. On the other hand, in the middle zone, in Polesia and Wolhynia, Catholics are definitely in a small minority.

Civilization and culture were inculcated in the people of these regions largely by the Catholic Church, irrespective of language and origin. Higher education was represented by the Jesuit academies. The Academy of Wilno was opened in 1578, and that at Lwow in 1656. All secondary education owed its inception to the work of the monastic orders, principally Jesuits, Piarist and Basilians (of the Uniat rite), the Dominicans and the Franciscans. Schools administered by these orders were spread throughout the country, and from the academies came Polish scholars, statesmen, legislators, teachers, soldiers and artists. It is not strange that the ideas, customs and habits of the population of this area, expressed in individual ethics, and in family, political and economic life, derive in style and content from the Mediterranean civilization of Athens and Rome.

A R C's Work For Polish Prisoners-of-War

(Continued from page 6)

cles, like soap, tooth powder, brushes, combs, razors, etc.

The moral effect of regular relief supplies is great. After five years spent in a prison camp, the Polish Prisoner no longer needs to worry about what he is going to eat next month. This regular flow of supplies makes him feel that there is somebody in the world who thinks of him. This strengthens his morale and makes him self-confident. When the war is over, he will go back to his home not a sick man and moral wreck, but ready to help in the great work of reconstruction of a new Poland.

POLISH QUEEN IN DANTZIG

(Continued from page 13)

was lined with dark blue velvet cushions, with heavy silver fringes. The Queen sat at the right, wrapped in an ermine mantle, with Madame de Guébriant at her left. The carriages of the French princesses and of the great ladies of Poland followed in the procession.

At the gates of Dantzig, the four burgmasters presented to the Queen the keys of the city on a silver platter. Along the streets were huge arches painted with Latin inscriptions proclaiming the glory of Poland and of the house of Gonzague. The first of these arches was held by colossal figures of Atlas and Hercules. These were curious mechanical statues, which

Cover: Sixteenth century pillory in front of the ancient Town Hall in Poznan.

the Poles excelled in making, and which seemed to bow to the Queen as the carriage passed. Another still greater and higher arch was surmounted with a balcony where a choir of young children from the city sang the praises of Queen Louise-Marie.

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ANDERS WITH POLISH SECOND CORPS IN ITALY

On the Italian front Polish Second Corps advance units, engaged chiefly in patrol work, are penetrating deeper into the German lines causing havoc among the enemy patrols.

General Anders visits the troops in the frontline every day and only recently took war correspondents on a tour of the Polish front. They had to climb a mountain 4,000 feet high. The snow was knee deep and the weather very cold. The party talked to a platoon armed with tommy guns and mortars. They were camouflaged with white hooded cloaks as they kept watch of German forward posts less than three hundred yards away, but the rugged, mountainous area prevents major action.

General Anders asked the troops how they liked the fighting. One youth said: "This is like Poland. Snow and cold makes us feel as if we were back home." General Anders said that thus far the Poles had captured more than thirty prisoners and gained valuable information.

Mountain roads are impossible because of heavy snow which hundreds of demobilized Italian troops and civilians are trying to remove. Only in the last few days have the roads been open long enough for traffic to pass.

Everywhere there is devastation caused by the retreating Germans, particularly of bridges blown up, but quickly replaced by British and American engineers. Railway lines are still idle because of track destruction at many points. Trucks, coaches, and hundreds of German tanks and vehicles lie about destroyed by Allied gunfire during the advance.

Polish Second Corps Headquarters is in a small mountain village less than forty miles from the enemy's positions. This little village, once picturesque and happy, was looted by the Germans of all personal belongings including jewelry, clothing, cattle, even electric bulbs and electric wiring, which was ripped out and taken away.

GERMANS BUSY FORTIFYING BUG

SWIT reports that the Germans have begun the construction of strong fortifications along the Bug line, on which more than 20,000 Italian prisoners are employed. They are living in most appalling conditions, are insufficiently fed and clothed and their treatment is even worse than that of Soviet prisoners.

British Air Minister Praises Gallant Deeds of Polish Airmen

In opening the Polish Air Force exhibition in London, Sir Archibald Sinclair, British Air Minister, said that the Polish Air Force had been fighting since September, 1939, when Germany launched her brutal and unprovoked attack on Poland. The odds at that time were very much in favor of the Luftwaffe, to be precise, 3,000 German aircraft to 400 Polish. The result was that the Germans smashed up the Polish Air Force and thought they had finished with it, but they were mistaken.

Today the Polish Air Force is substantially bigger and infinitely more powerful than it was then. Napoleon complained once that the British soldier was too stupid to know when he was beaten, and the Germans have found that Polish airmen suffer from the same defect. They refused to acknowledge defeat in 1939, they escaped from Poland, fought in France and later found their way to Great Britain.

Neither the inundation of Poland by German hordes, nor the collapse of France, nor the forebodings of wisecracks who declared that Britain could never stand alone, quenched the fighting spirit of the Poles.

Polish air crews are now carrying war into Germany in a great Allied bomber offensive. In coastal command, Polish crews were playing their part in the battle of the Atlantic and a splendid part it is. The second tactical air force had a complete Polish wing.

Speaking of the part played by Poland's avenging eagles in the battle of Britain, Sir Archibald Sinclair said: "I think it true to say of ordinary people like me, who did not know much about Poland before the war, that one thing more than anything else has touched our imagination, given us an insight into the genius of the Polish people and earned for them our lasting gratitude and respect—and that was the valor of Polish fighter pilots in the Battle of Britain and ever since."

The British Air Minister concluded by saying that the scarlet and white of the Polish Air Force was ever to be found in the thick of the battle. More than 200 German aircraft had been destroyed by Poles in the Battle of Britain and by the end of 1943 the number had been brought up to 600. Today the Polish Air Force numbers many thousands men—a mighty contribution from a nation in exile. Tables have now been turned on the Germans. It is Polish Squadrons that are attacking and, with their comrades from other allied nations, are beating the life out of the Luftwaffe.

The London exhibition deals with the feats which have won renown for the Polish Air Force and with the services given ungrudgingly by gallant men far from their native land, fighting for the freedom not only of their own country but of the whole world.

GERMANS KILL THREE FOR EACH POLE A SUICIDE

In the neighborhood of Inowroclaw the Germans have established a penal camp for Poles from Western Poland and the Reich. Guards on bicycles wait for the new prisoners three kilometres outside the camp, then chase them to the gates. There dogs are set upon them. Another form of torture is the so-called morning gymnastics which prisoners must perform stark naked. Those who do not do the exercises to the satisfaction of the guards are beaten. In the exercise-ground there is a gallows where the body of some Polish victim is always hanging. All executions are carried out publicly, while the other prisoners are forced to laugh and applaud or else they are beaten unconscious. Numerous suicides occur in the camp. For each suicide the Germans hang three other Polish prisoners for "lack of control over their comrades."

FIVE POLES DIE FOR AID GIVEN TO BRITISH

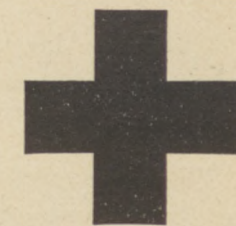
The "Rzeczpospolita Polska," a Polish underground paper, copies of which now reached London, reveals that five Poles were sentenced to death by the Germans in Grudziadz, Pomorze, for hiding escaped British war prisoners and giving them food and civilian clothes, and all five have been executed.

Their names were: Konstanty Mroczynski, Konstanty Kaminski, Wacław Lewandowski, Jozef Kaminski and Stanislaw Winczoroski.

Three Polish women: Aniela Kasznicka, Antonina Gorska and Stefania Grieger were sentenced to long-term imprisonment in penal camps for showing sympathy to British war prisoners and giving them food and cigarettes.

SWIT reports that two Polish women of Wroclaw have been sent to prison for doing little acts of kindness to British prisoners of war.

GIVE TO THE



RED CROSS

On land,
at sea and
in the air,
in the Mediterranean
and the Pacific,
the blood of
American men
is being freely shed
for the Liberty
of the
United Nations —
for the

LIBERTY OF POLAND

GIVE
THAT
THEY
MAY
LIVE

ALL POLES are urged to send as much as they possibly can to the Polish Chapter of the American Red Cross, c/o Mrs. George Burr, Waldorf Towers, Park Avenue at 50th Street, New York City.

POLAND HAS A RIGHT TO BE HEARD

Mr. Gabriel Heatter, the well-known radio commentator, broadcasting over W.O.R. March 9th said:

"Well, there is little doubt left tonight, Russia and Poland have come to a final impasse. London sources agree all hope of a compromise is virtually gone. One or two newspapers in London are registering impatience at the Polish cabinet. They characterize its attitude as 'obstinate and stubborn.' Well, let it be remembered some men in Germany called Poland's attitude stubborn when it refused to yield to Hitler. Let it be remembered time proved it to be a sublimely and gloriously stubborn defiance which inspired men to end appeasement and stand on their feet again.

"Germany had 3,500 planes and Poland had a handful. Chamberlain and Daladier fell on their knees before Hitler, convinced any sacrifice was not too great because it would save London and Paris from Hitler's bombs. Poland knew Warsaw would feel all that wrath, and yet her government held its ground and prepared to fight and die. They've earned the right to be heard, the right to call in America and Britain. They made their sacrifice on the same altar of human decency for which we are now fighting.

"If anybody is prepared to call that a 'stubborn attitude' one can only reply what a pity Chamberlain had none of it. What a pity Daladier had none. What a pity other men had none of it when the Japs marched into Manchuria, when Mussolini came into Ethiopia, and when brave and gallant Czechoslovakia was sacrificed.

"Russia's offer may seem reasonable on paper. It may even work out in practice. It may be a convenient expedient by which to avoid friction when friction would only help Germany. It may also be the seed of which new wars are born. I don't know, and I don't know anybody who does know. Time alone will tell. And with all respect for Mr. Churchill's sincerity and his problems I can't help but wonder what his reply would be if Poland's government were to say tonight, 'Mr. Prime Minister, we braved all of Hitler's power. We continued to fight after our people were in chains and our country desolated. We are fighting

tonight on land, sea, and air, maintaining a government-in-exile in all these trying years. Have we done all this merely to break up our country?'

"As Mr. Churchill said when he was under pressure to make some drastic changes in India, 'I was not appointed the King's Minister for the purpose of breaking up The Empire.' Well, there were men who said he was right and men who said he was wrong; but all men had to agree he was frank and honest about it. Well, surely the people of Poland are as much entitled to voices as firm and frank, as honest and clear.

"I've heard men say that Russian troops died to liberate Poland and except for Russia Hitler would have all of Poland. And I've heard other men say surely after Russia's great sacrifice in this war Russia needs security against future attack, and this part of Poland is necessary to her security. And other men have said, well, suppose you refuse to agree with the Russians, what are you going to do about it? Fight for it? Fight Europe's strongest army?

"I think reasonable men and women would say if we're going to settle world affairs on that basis we might as well stop before we begin. Is it any wonder Mr. Anthony Eden said frankly there was never a time when it was more difficult to conduct diplomatic affairs. And yet it seems to me we shall find it increasingly difficult unless we're prepared to establish one principle above all others, the right of smaller nations to argue their case against stronger nations. Deny that and you've wrecked every future hope of mankind. Deny that and your future world will be one of balances of power and spheres of influence and children might as well begin training for the next war.

"Russia has come a long way and earned it by her courage, and all men are willing to grant her full and complete military security. But even Russia will find more security in a world based on principle than she can possibly find in all her armies and all frontiers. If Russia feels she has a good case let her present it. Let her present it before a panel of other nations. And let Poland's voice be heard. By that alone Russia might make a contribution to human progress as great as her gallant fight on the battle field."